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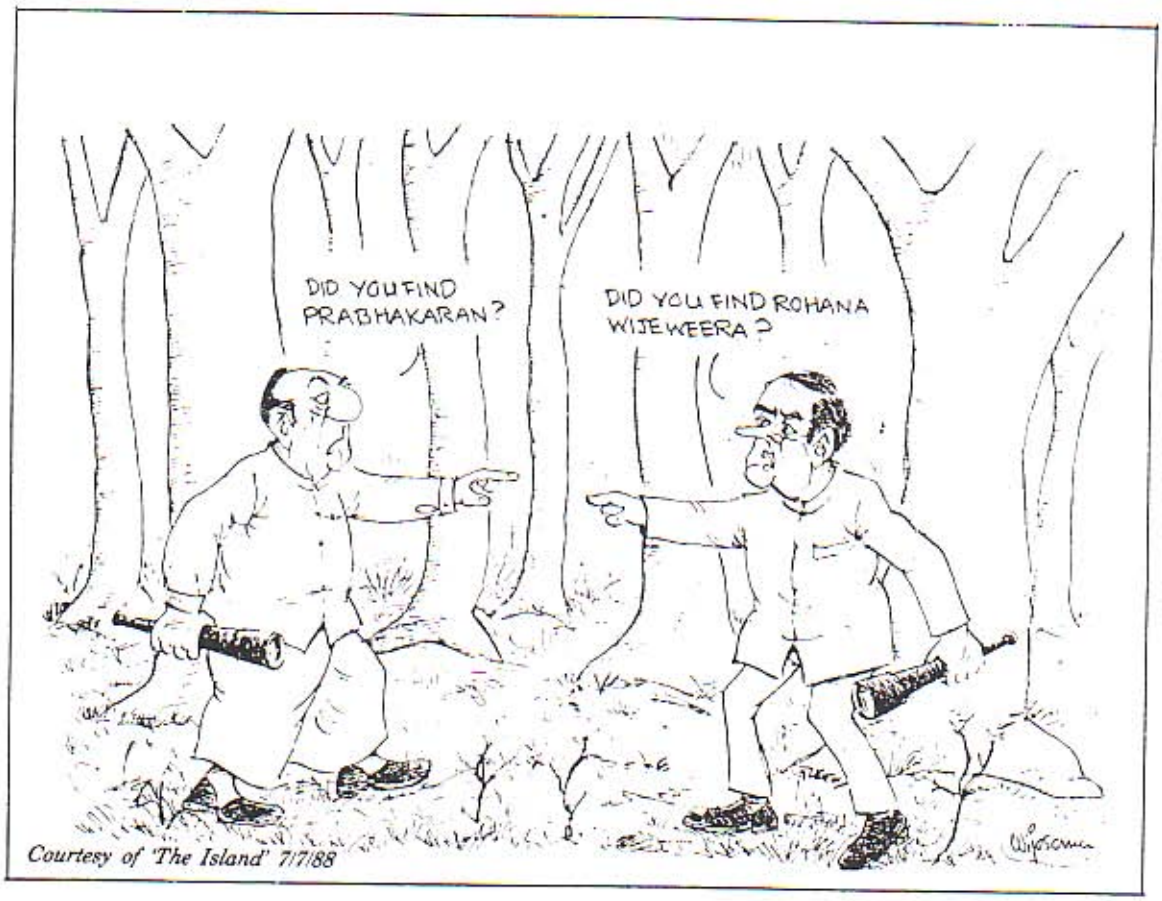
Sri Lanka, A Country United by Fear

— PAGE 12



Courtesy of 'The Island' 7/7/88

- LTTE-INDIA TALKS DEADLOCKED

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- *IMMUNITY FOR UNLAWFUL ACTS*

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A YEAR AFTER THE ACCORD

The Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement signed on 29 July 1987 was intended to bring an end to the then raging ethnic conflict and violence that had rocked Sri Lanka for several years and inaugurate an era of peace and harmony among its people. A year has elapsed. But the violence and conflict continues unabated. Indeed the violence has spread to other parts of the country which had previously remained relatively unaffected.

The Indian Peace Keeping Force which arrived in the wake of the Agreement has failed to restore peace. On the contrary, it is engaged in a violent and tragic confrontation with the most dominant Tamil militant group, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. In this confrontation, many innocent Tamils have been killed, and many others subjected to untold hardship and suffering. In several instances, the personnel belonging to the IPKF have behaved as bad or even worse than the Sri Lankan security forces from whom they came ostensibly to protect the Tamil people.

'Operation Leap' and 'Operation Liberation' previously undertaken by the Sri Lankan security forces have been followed by 'Operation Pawan', 'Operation Virat', 'Operation Trisul' and now 'Operation Checkmate' launched by the IPKF. The successes claimed as a consequence of these operations have not brought peace, but death, destruction and misery to the people.

The basic cause of the continuing violence resulting from the confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE is that the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement does not adequately provide for meeting the national aspirations of the Tamil people. With all its reservations, the LTTE is on record as having pledged to cooperate in the implementation of the Agreement. That being the case, it is hoped that the ongoing talks between India and the LTTE would lead to a resolution of the areas in dispute thus bringing peace to a long suffering people.

Ironically, the cause for the campaign of violence unleashed in the south of the island by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) with the tacit support of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) is that the same Agreement has granted too much to the Tamils and the limited devolution for which it provides is equated with the division of the country. These parties ought to realise that gross distortions of this type and the continued denial of the legitimate rights of the Tamil people resulted in the emergence of Tamil armed resistance. The cause of Indian intervention, to begin with indirectly and later directly, in Sri Lankan affairs has been the inability or rather the pig-headed unwillingness on the part of Sinhala political leaders to resolve a problem which was essentially an internal one.

If the SLFP or the JVP, or for that matter any other party or group, desires an early exit of the IPKF and to see an end to Indian meddling in Sri Lankan internal affairs, then they should come to terms with and recognise the legitimate aspirations and national rights of the Tamil people. The advance towards the realisation of those aspirations and rights have reached a point of no return. No amount of anti-Tamil propaganda based on misinterpretation of history or distortion of present day realities is going to prevent that advance.

Mass struggles against a government which subverts representative democracy by frequently monkeying with the Constitution, or extends the life of parliament by depriving the people of their right to periodic general elections, or suppresses political dissent and opposition by resorting to draconian, arbitrary or military means is one thing. But combining some elements of such a struggle with a campaign of individual terrorism which draws its inspiration and nourishment from an essentially chauvinist anti-Tamil stance is politically and morally wrong, counter-productive and reactionary and therefore should be resisted. For all the marxist rhetoric of the JVP, it has not only failed to recognise and understand the basic tenet that national minorities are the natural allies of all progressive forces, but has also ganged up with the most reactionary chauvinist and fascist elements in Sri Lankan society while engaging in a vicious and sustained campaign of individual terrorism.

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COLOMBO NEWS LETTER

by Chithra

AN IMPASSE OR TOTAL BREAKDOWN?

There are grave doubts about the so-called informal talks between Indian officials and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) producing an agreement and bringing about an end to the ongoing confrontation between the IPKF and the LTTE before the first anniversary (July 29, 1988) of the signing of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

A flurry of speculation of a possible agreement has preoccupied the Sri Lankan and Indian media for several weeks. These rather optimistic reports have at the same time been accompanied by other reports of intensified operations against the LTTE by the IPKF which had claimed that it had allegedly succeeded in 'cornering' the Tiger leaders within a small area in the north of the island. While accusing the IPKF of committing atrocities against Tamil civilians, the LTTE counter-claimed that it had inflicted heavy casualties upon the IPKF.

Ironically, while the body count has been increasing on both sides, informal discussions have been taking place during the last several months between officials of the Indian Research and Analysis Wing (RAW) and LTTE stalwarts in Madras. The 28 year old former Jaffna Commander of the LTTE, Sathasivam Krishnakumar, better known as Kittu, confirming that the discussions have been taking place, said at the end of June that the negotiations with India were "approaching an advanced stage".

ILL-FATED AGREEMENT

Tiger leader Prabhakaran had on several previous occasions appealed to the Indian Prime Minister to order a cease-fire and conveying LTTE's pledge to cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord and its willingness to hand over its weapons following negotiations between the LTTE and India on certain aspects of the devolution package. But India would not budge from its intransigent position that it would not order a cease-fire unless and until the LTTE accepts the Accord and surrenders its weapons.

Earlier reports indicated that the LTTE, during negotiations with RAW officials, wanted the resuscitation of the ill-fated Dixit-LTTE agreement of September 28, 1987 (See Tamil Times, page 13, June 1988) under which an interim administration in the northern and eastern provinces was to be established under control of the LTTE. Neither India nor Sri Lanka was agreeable to this suggestion. They argued that the time and the need for an interim administrative machinery had passed, and as the Provincial Council Law had already been enacted, a civilian elected administration could be set up after elections.

AGREEMENT WITH RAW?

By the latter part of June, knowledgeable sources reported that an agreement between LTTE and RAW officials had been reached covering several matters. India had rejected the call for a general cease-fire, but was agreeable to a 'sectoral cease-fire'. The initial differences of opinion as to the actual number of weapons held by the LTTE, would appear to have been resolved. The 'sectoral cease-fire' would be brought into effect by the LTTE handing over arms on an area-by-area basis resulting in an unoffical cease-fire in the area concerned. The process would cumulatively result in a total cease-fire once 700 weapons had been surrendered. The rest of the LTTE weapons, except those retained for the personal protection of its leaders, should be handed over within a further two week period.

On completion of the surrender of weapons, a general cease-fire would be announced, the proscription on the

Sathasivam Krishnakumar (alias Kittu), former Jaffna Commander of LTTE

LTTE and the Emergency affecting the north and east would be lifted and the President would publish a proclamation of the merger of the northern and eastern provinces. Thereafter preparations for the holding of the Provincial Council elections in October this year would be undertaken.

In regard to the question of Tamil militant cadres, two Rehabilitation Committees were to be set up - one was to comprise of LTTE nominees and allocated with a sum of 500 million Indian rupees, and the other was to comprise of nominees of all other Tamil militant groups and allocated 100 million Indian rupees. Representatives of the governments of India and Sri Lanka would serve on both the Committees to ensure that the funds would be applied only for the intended purpose of rehabilitating the militant cadres.

SRI LANKA GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUE

The following is the text of the communique issued by the Presidential Secretariat on 30th June 1988:

'Following the Indian Defence Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant's visit to Colombo for discussions with the President between 30th May and 1st of June 1988, the operations of the IPKF have achieved further successes. There has been an exchange of communications between the President and the Prime Minister of India between the 24th and 27th of June 1988. The Prime Minister has informed the President that the LTTE has given indications of their willingness to lay down their arms and cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement.

'Keeping in view the shared objectives of the Government of India and the Government of Sri Lanka to bring an end to violence and suffering of the people of Sri Lanka and to revive the political process by giving a free, fair and equal opportunity to all to participate in these processes, the Government of Sri Lanka reiterates its willingness to take the following steps:

'If the Tamil militants would lay down arms and support the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, the detenus will be released and all Tamil militant groups would be granted general amnesty and would be allowed to return to the mainstream of democratic process as envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement and the latest amendments to the Sri Lankan Constitution.

'The LTTE, it is understood, is now willing to do so and if they agree to surrender all arms, explosives and communication equipment held by them, in accordance with a procedure agreed between the military authorities relating to quality, quantity, type and method, and the Government of India agrees to disarm totally the LTTE, the Government of Sri Lanka will issue instructions to the authorities and the Commissioner of Elections of Sri Lanka to call for elections to the Provincial Council of the North-Eastern province under Article 10(1) of the Provincial Council elections law and to take further action under that law, and the North-Eastern Provincial Council to be formed with one Government, one elected Chief Minister and four elected Ministers (vide S.37 of Act No. 2 of 1987).

'The question of the use of the 1982 election register by an amendment to Act No. 2 of 1988 S5(1) will be studied for its constitutionality and legislative appropriateness.

'The Government of Sri Lanka will also take immediate steps to appoint one High Court for the North-Eastern Province and pass the necessary legislation envisaged in the 13th amendment of the Sri Lankan Constitution to fulfil aspirations relating to Tamil, along with Sinhala, being made the official language of the Democratic Socialistic republic of Sri Lanka.

'If, in response to these assurances, the LTTE fulfils its stated commitment to lay down arms and fully cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, the Government of Sri Lanka will initiate steps by the end of July for holding elections to the North-Eastern Provincial Council.'

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As to the LTTE's demand for the enhancement of the devolution package and any further amendments to Constitution and the Provincial Council Law, the government of Sri Lanka would give an assurance that those matters would be discussed after the elections with elected representatives.

HIGH LEVEL DISCUSSIONS

Though reports suggested that these were matters on which agreement has been reached betweem LTTE leaders in Madras and RAW officials, at no time did the LTTE or any one of its leaders claim or even suggest that there was such an agreement. On the contrary, the LTTE persisted in calling for a cease-fire followed by negotiations.

The high level discussions held on June 27 in Delhi presided over by Rajiv Gandhi on the Sri Lankan situation fuelled further speculation about the prospect of a definite agreement. Those who attended these discussions included the External Affairs Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao, Defence Minister K.C. Pant, Minister of State for External Affairs K. Natwar Singh, Foreign Secretary K.P.S. Menon, Defence Secretary T.N. Seshan and the High Commissioner for India in Colombo D.N. Dixit who had flown to Delhi to attend the meeting.

Mr. Dixit returned to Colombo presumably with a message from Rajiv Gandhi to President Jayawardene with whom he had a series of meetings on 28 June. It would seem that the President had a briefing meeting with his cabinet on the morning of 30 June about the exchanges between Colombo and Delhi and the message brought by Mr. Dixit.

GOVT COMMUNIQUE

In the afternoon of June 30, the Presidential Secretariat issued a communique (see box) which announced the government's intention to take certain steps. These included the release of Tamil political detenus and the grant of general amnesty to all Tamil militant groups to enable them to return to the mainstream of democratic process as envisaged in the Accord; if the LTTE would agree to the surrender of all arms, the government would call for elections to the Provincial Councils of the North-Eastern Province and to take further action to form the North-Eastern Provincial Council with one Government, one elected Chief Minister and four elected Ministers; the legal possibility of the use of the 1982 electoral register would be considered; immediate steps would be taken to appoint one High Court for the North-Eastern Province and to enact necessary legislation to make Tamil, along with Sinhala, being made the official languages of the country; and if the LTTE fulfilled its stated commitment to lay down arms and fully cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, the government would initiate steps by the end of July for holding the elections to the North-Eastern Provincial Council.

If the messages to President Jayawardene from the Indian PM adequately reflected the 'indications' given by the LTTE negotiators, one would assume that the contents of the Presidential communique also adequately responded to the messages of the Indian PM. If that was the case, this response of the LTTE to the Presidential communique would have confirmed this.

NO PROSPECT

The LTTE's response was given by Kittu at a press conference held in Madras the day following the issue of the Presidential communique. What he told the pressmen did not indicate any prospect of an immediate agreement. On the contrary, it was a reassertion of LTTE's previous positions on its attitude to the Accord, on the need for a general cease-fire, on the question of surrender of weapons and the merger of the northern and eastern provinces of the island.

On the Agreement, Kittu said, "We have declared this before and we continue to stand on our pledge to cooperate in the implementation of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement. We still insist that this should have the desired effect of safeguarding the interests and aspirations of our people". Referring to the talks with RAW officials, he said that they focused on matters relevant to bringing about an immediate cease-fire, and "included the handing over of weapons, the rehabilitation of our people and the security of our people. Once an agreement is reached in the negotiations, in accordance with that agreement, we are willing to hand over the weapons".

Kittu was very emphatic on the question of a cease-fire and surrender of weapons: "No firm decision has been made regarding the time limit and quantity of weapons. A final decision can be made with the permission of Prabhakaran. Owing to Operation Checkmate (launched by the IPKF) going on at present, communications have been disturbed. Operation Checkmate has been a hindrance to a final decision. Therefore, we urge an immediate cease-fire".

ON MERGER

Referring to the question of merger of the northern and eastern provinces, Kittu explained that the LTTE expected that "the Sri Lankan government should make a proclamation on this issue. Yesterday, the Secretariat of the President has issued a statement that the Northern and Eastern Pro-

"ACCORD, A CHARTER FOR SERVILITY"

The following is a text of a press statement dated 9 July issued by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam:

'During the 9 months war of attrition, being waged unjustly by the Indian army large number of civilians have been killed, women have been brutally raped, millions worth of property destroyed and the wild life and jungles were devastated.

'India is trying to teach democracy to the Tamil nation, that has suffered 40 years of oppression to the extent of genocide, by spending millions of rupees to bomb and burn Tamil areas.

'India's propaganda seems to be that once the North and Eastern provinces are merged together temporarily and an election is held the grievances of the Tamils would be over. It must be remembered that enormous sacrifices made by the Tamil people and martyrdom attained by thousands of Tamil youth was not to effect a temporary merger and elections for powerless provincial councils.

'What is described as North and East is the Motherland of Tamils and that is indivisble. The Sri Lankan government rejoiced, rather vainly after "Operation Liberation" in Vadamarachchy, that the liberation struggle of Tamils had been crushed. However with the suicide attack by Black Tiger Miller at Nelliyadi on July 5th 1987, the Sri Lankan government was stunned. The Sri Lankans and the whole world realised that the Tamil liberation struggle has not ended and the Liberation Tigers have not been subdued or liquidated.

'India which entered Sri Lanka under the pretext of protecting Tamils claims to have crushed their liberation struggle after committing greater atrocities than the Sri Lankans and also declares that elections could be held soon. India also seems to be exploring the possibilities if it could hold elections with the help of quislings. India mistakenly believes if they could hold a show election and install a puppet administration in the Tamil homeland which had been made a big garrison of Indian army, they could convince the world that democracy has revived in Tamil Eelam. Since it is obvious that Tigers will not accept any solution couched under the veil of peace, that does not afford genuine protection for the Tamils, India is hellbent on eliminating Tigers and liquidating its leaders.

'India is wrong if it believes that it could implement the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, a charter of servility for the Tamils, by destroying the LTTE and its leaders. If India continues to engage in its effort to eliminate Tigers and kill Tamils, it would become inevitable that the Tigers would withdraw from the farcial peace talks and prepare the Tamil Nation for a long and protracted struggle against foreign domination.

'In the military engagement, last month 80 Indian soldiers were killed and 15 were wounded. The number of Indian soldiers killed in various districts are as follows. Kilinochchi-26, Mannar-7, Jaffna-2, Trincomalee-16 and at Mullaitivu-15. On our side, Major Salam, Captains Ragavan and Sabesan and Mano, Alex, Thamu, Hari, Sutha, Prince, Thiyagu and Arasan attained martyrdom, to whom we pay homage.'

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vinces will be merged into single unit. This is not a proclamation. Our sincere hope is that the government of India will persuade the government of Sri Lanka to make a proclamation on this merger as early as possible".

Stating that the LTTE had submitted a detailed study to the government of India pointing out the shortcomings in the 13th Amendment to the Constitution in regard to the devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils, Kittu asserted that most of the powers had been concentrated at the Centre. "Improving the 13th Amendment cannot be done immediately. Therefore, what we are talking about at present is a matter relevant to bringing about a cease-fire".

India has now come to realise that establishing contact with the LTTE leader Prabhakaran is crucial for any progress on the negotiating front. The LTTE in a statement issued on 8 July made this point absolutely clear: "Although there is some progress made in the current negotiations, there is also a compelling need for our leader to assess fully the important subjects before making decisions. Hence it is necessary that our leader should discuss with us and the representatives of the government of India in person. There are several practical difficulties in consulting our leader in person . . . Therefore we requested India to cease hostilities in the area between Elephant Pass and Trincomalee while the meeting with our leader was taking place. Although the government of India understood our genuine concern, it turned down the request for such an arrangement. No agreement can be reached without facilitating our leader Mr. Prabhakaran to comprehend the totality of the negotiations directly".

MAIN HURDLES

According to the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. Dixit, the two main hurdles that remain to be cleared for an agreement are the LTTE's demand for a total cease-fire and the time it requires for the surrender of weapons. On June 9, addressing a gathering of representatives of Citizens Committees in the eastern province town of Batticaloa, Mr. Dixit said that the LTTE was insisting on a five-day cease-fire prior to a meeting with the Tiger leader Prabhakaran, and secondly the LTTE wanted a five-month period for the total surrender of all weapons. The Indian offer of a guaranteed safe conduct for Prabhakaran to emerge from his hideout or for a Tiger deputation to meet their leader without a complete cease-fire being declared had not been acceptable to the LTTE. Mr. Dixit called upon the Citizens Committees as a "potent force of public opinion to persuade the Tigers to lay down arms and enter the democratic process. If that happens, India will be equally responsive."

Characterising the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement as "a charter of servility for the Tamils", the LTTE in a rather hard-hitting statement issued on 9 July (see box on page 4), has threatened to "withdraw from the farcial peace talks and prepare the Tamil Nation for a long and protracted struggle against foreign domination".

PROSPECTS DIM

The optimism evident during late June and early July for a negotiated settlement seems to have evaporated. The prospects for peace in the near future for the beleaguered Tamil population would appear to be rather dim.

As for the LTTE leaders, they must be ruing the adventurism they displayed in dashing the plate on which power was being offered through the Dixit-LTTE agreement of September 28, 1987.

As for the Indian leaders, however much they may crow about Indian national interests being protected by the provisions of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement, they cannot regard the performance of the IPKF in Sri Lanka as the crowning glory of the fourth largest army in the world which is today engaged in the longest war in its entire history.

Sequel to murder of Fr. Chandra and abduction of Kandasamy

RELIEF WORK GRINDS TO A HALT IN TAMIL AREAS

by D.B.S. Jeyaraj

Refugee relief and rehabilitation work undertaken by religious and non-governmental organisations in the Northern and Eastern Provinces have ground to a halt.

The killing of the Catholic Priest Fr. Chandra Fernando in Batticaloa on June 6 and the abduction of a prominent social worker Mr S. Kandasamy by unknown persons on June 19 has led to this situation.

An office-bearer of the Tamil Refugee Rehabilitation Organisation (TRRO) said that most international agencies that were giving aid to the TRRO for refugee relief and rehabilitation work had expressed horror at the plight of Mr. Kandasamy. Several of these agencies particularly those from Scandinavian countries had already suspended financial aid following Mr. Kandasamy's abduction. In view of this situation the TRRO was constrained to suspend its refugee settlement programme including free-medical aid. Mr. Kandasamy was primarily instrumental in setting up the TRRO in 1977 after the August violence.

The TRRO had spread its activities throughout the North and East and since 1983 had been playing a prominent role in rehabilitation work. Mr Kandasamy went into self-exile in 1983 and thereafter was responsible for fund raising from western countries for the TRRO.

A west-European based representative of an aid-giving agency told The Island by telephone that the donor agencies were disappointed at the inertia of some TRRO officials, in matters concerning the release of Mr. Kandasamy. "We know personally that he is a man dedicated to upliftment of the Tamils and of unimpeachable integrity. If some harm has befallen him then we will have to reconsider the whole issue" the representative said.

A spokesman for the Catholic church told The Island that the church has suspended all its social work in the Eastern Province following the killing of Fr. Chandra Fernando who was also Chairman of the Batticaloa-Amparai Citizens' Committee. The spokesman said that the church organisation, Eastern Human and Economic Development Centre (EHED) has suspended its activities which were basically refugee oriented.

The Batticaloa-Trincomalee Bishop Rev. Fr. Kingsley Swampillai had decided to suspend these activities as the role of the church was not being appreciated as indicated by the killing of Fr. Chandra Fernando. All Catholic priests had resigned from posts held in Citizens' Committees following the killing.

The Bishop of Jaffna Rev. Fr. Deogupillai has also advised the priests in his diocese to be 'careful' and 'go slow' in doing social work because of the political situation.

According to citizens from the North and East, the suspension of refugee work has hit the ordinary people very hard. More than half the population have been affected by the past violence. Since civil administration is also in shambles, the non-governmental relief and rehabilitation was of great importance.

(The Island, 8 July 1988)

SCOT APPEALS FOR KANDASAMY

The General Council of the London based Standing Committee of Tamils (SCOT) has appealed to those who abducted Mr. S. Kandasamy on June 19 from his residence in Jaffna to release him unharmed.

A statement issued by SCOT's Secretary on behalf of the General Council said that the contribution made by Mr. Kandasamy in the cause of human rights and rehabilitation of Tamils was enormous. The fact that he abandoned a lucrative legal practice following the August 1977 anti-Tamil pogrom in which tens of thousands of Tamils were affected and thereafter devoted himself totally to serve the community illustrated his sense of self-sacrifice.

(Contd. on p.10)

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AMERICAN FUNDING FOR SLFP

I am surprised that such little public attention has been paid to an article appearing in the Sunday Island of the 19th June, where a businessman of Sri Lankan origin, who lives and operates in California, is interviewed as saying that he has 'already succeeded in doing what no Sri Lankan here would even consider possible: raised funds for the SLFP from private American citizens and businesses.'

The article goes on to say: 'The cheques, some made out to Mrs. Bandaranaike, some to the SLFP, have been coming in during the last two months. Together with the cheques are letters wishing the party success.'

One must ask whether there is a link between this fund – raising campaign and the subsequently reported fact that Mr. Anura Bandaranaike was leaving for the US to attend, as guest of honour, a meeting, to be presided over by Mrs. John Wayne, and to be attended by a large gathering of 'distinguished Americans, including six Mayors.' It was further reported that on this occassion Mr. Bandaranaike would deliver a lecture explaining SLFP policies for the forthcoming General and Presidential elections.

I am not aware of any previous precedent for a Sri Lankan political party openly receiving foreign funds for election purposes. However, it seems to me as an observer of political affairs, unaligned with any political party that the significance of these two pieces of news is not exhausted by this fact.

The SLFP is, of all the legally operating political parties in Sri Lanka, the one which campaigns most stridently against the Indo-Sri Lankan peace accord and against the presence of the

Anura flies for SLFP meeting in California where Chief guest is John Wayne's wife – News item

IPKF in Sri Lanka. It is well known that while official State Department policies may be reconciled to the Indian role in relation to the Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, there is a powerful section of right-wing American opinion which paranoiacally regards India as a satellite of the Soviet Union, which sees the Indo-Sri Lankan accord as an extension of Indian influence, and therefore indirectly of Soviet influence, in South Asia, and which would therefore be more than willing to support a party which was taking a militantly anti-Indian position. It is reasonable to suppose that these extreme right-wing elements would be strongly represented in what is described in the article to which I have referred as the city of million dollar homes and affluent life-styles' where this fund-raising campaign is centred.

Who, moreover, is Mrs. John Wayne? She is the widow of the famous American star of cowboy and other action films, the intimate friend of Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, who associated himself off-screen with diehard right-wing political causes in America, and who on screen was the spiritual ancestor of that present-day quintessentially American hero, Rambo.

There is a further angle to this development which intrigues me. We have been accustomed in recent times to smears against institutions and organisations which have stood for peace and ethnic good relations, on the ground that they receive foreign funds. It is interesting to see that none of these self-appointed defenders of the national interest who were responsible for these smears have thought it fit to question the legitimacy of a national political party fighting an election with the help of funds from American big business.

Reggie Siriwardena

PROFESSOR, A VICTIM OF GUN POWER

It happened to Professor Ralph Buultjens, much in demand among the Colombo elitist circles, earlier based in the U.S. and known to be a personal friend of the late Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

The scene: Havelock Town, Colombo, 5 p.m. 26th June. The Professor was in the front seat of his car with driver Lester Ranatunge at the wheel and his secretary, Miss de Silva in the rear, getting out of his Skelton Road residence to deliver the Felix Dias Bandaranaike lecture at the Bandaranaike Memorial Hall. The title of the lecture: 'THE PRICE OF POWER'.

Suddenly a Red Lancer car had intercepted his vehicle. Three men armed with revolvers dragged out the driver and shoved him into the rear seat. Prof. Buultjens was threatened and told to remain seated where he was. He was quickly blindfolded. One of the armed youths had taken the wheel, while the Red Lancer followed.

Reaching the unknown destination, they treated him well and offered him a soft drink 'Fanta'. 'You are a fine chap', the abductors told him, 'but don't get inolved with this crowd. And don't give any lectures on Felix Dias Bandaranaike'.

At 7.15 p.m. he was told: It's too late now for a resumption of the meeting and your lecture. Listen for the sounds of a car driving away, give it a few minutes, remove your blindfold, and please get back home. The Professor did as he was told while a distinguished gathering at the BMICH including the widow of the late Felix Dias Bandaranaike, kept waiting, while frantic telephone calls were made.

Earlier, driver Ranatunga and Secretary Miss de Silva were dropped close to the traffic lights at the Havelock Road intersection. Both were so shocked they could not even note the number of the abductors' car, Police said. But the driver had been told: We will not harm him. We only want to question him.

A Carnatic Vocal and Veena Recital by RENUKA SHRIANANDA

'The Standing Committee of Tamil Speaking People, UK (SCOT) organised a well attended Vocal and Veena recital in aid of medical equipment for the Jaffna Hospital on 2.7.88 at Merton Civic hall, Wimbledon, London SW19'

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PLIGHT OF SRI LANKAN TAMIL STUDENTS IN INDIA

– AN APPEAL –

A Government order has been issued by Public (Refugees) Department of the Government of Tamil Nadu, referred to as G. O. MS No. 597. The order is in consequence of the decision of the Government of India, communicated by the Joint Secretary to the Government of India. Ministry of Home Affairs, Department of Internal Security. The direction is in response to a letter written by the Commissioner and Secretary to Government Public Department, Madras on the subject of 'allowing Sri Lankan Tamils to remain in India to continue their education until the completion of their respective courses etc.

The G. O. makes the following restrictions regarding Sri Lankan Tamil students.

1) Students studying in classes XI and XII should be allowed to remain in India till they complete standard XII.

2) Those who are studying in Std. X and below will not be allowed to continue after the current academic year March 1988.

3) The Sri Lankan Tamil students who are now studying in Universities, Colleges and Polytechnics will be allowed to continue their education until the completion of their courses.

4) No new admissions should be given in any of the Colleges, Polytechnics or Universities.

5) Student visas should be given only on the basis of the above direction.

6) Extension of student visa is subject to the condition that the parents of such children would not insist on staying back in India on the pretext of completion of respective courses.

The Government Order has caused considerable consternation and confusion in the minds of Sri Lankan Tamils. In the first place it is noted with anguish that these restrictions regarding continuation of education or extension of student visa is applicable only to Sri Lankan Tamils. It is most unfortunate that the Government discriminates between Sri Lankan Tamils and non-Tamils. Does it not apply to Sri Lankan Telugus and Malayalis? Why should these restrictions be imposed only on a particular linguistic community from Sri Lanka? Many Sri Lankan Tamils point out that these restrictions will not apply to Sri Lankan Sinhalese. Therefore are we to understand that the Government of India is denying educational facilities in India to Sri Lankan Tamils only?

There are Sri Lankan Tamils and others who have been receiving education in India for many years long before some of them became refugees. There are private fee levying institutions and schools where Sri Lankan Tamils have joined to study, as a matter of conscious choice of educational institutions. Admissions to the institutions have been secured after severe hardships and after paying heavy capitation fees and other such payments. Are they to face a sudden disruption of this education or is this order confined to those studying in Government Institutions only and under refugee concessions? Are students from private institutions exempted from this Government order? The G. O. states that this order is to be communicated to all educational institutions under Government control.

It is not understood as to why the Government of India has singled out the most vulnerable population among the Sri Lankan Tamil residents in India for the peremptory order. Is this an attempt to 'flush out', all Sri Lankan Tamils from India? Should that be done in such a crude and distasteful manner such as a declaration that no Sri Lankan Tamil should be admitted to educational Institutions in India. This can have a far reaching impact on the psyche of the Sri Lankan Tamils.

It has been the tradition of Tamils and others, for centuries to come to India in the pursuit of knowledge and studies in the educational, cultural and religious institutions. Why should that age old tradition be snapped so suddenly and abruptly and without any reason whatsoever?

We learn that the Indian High Commission in Sri Lanka has been instructed not to issue visas in terms of this order to those students studying in Std. 10 and below. Many of them had gone to Sri Lanka for holidaying with their parents and are planning to return after their vacation. Firstly the promotion results would have been announced only after they had gone to Sri Lanka on vacation. They will be longing to come back to join their new classes. They would have made every arrangement for the purchase of books and to secure hostel facilities etc.

It is a most heartless act to dash the dreams of children and to crush their aspirations. Those students who come to India for education, among other things, choose to follow their education, in India through the English medium. After having followed their education through the English medium for the last four or five years if they are now told to get back to Sri Lanka, any educationist will know the hardships of adjustment such a change of school and educational system will impose on the tender minds of young children at the primary and secondary levels of education. It is almost unthinkable that a hasty and inconsiderate order such as G.O. No. 597 could cause the young generation of Sri Lankan Tamils who came to India to continue their education free from ethnic discrimination and the terror of ethnic conflicts, such a traumatic turn-about from friendly reception to rude rejection. They came in the hope that India is the alternative home for them, at least in the field of education where both the cultural and educational atmosphere was conducive to their unimpaired development.

Nowhere else in the world, to our knowledge have Sri Lankan Tamils been so totally and particularly denied admission to educational institutions.

Let us contemplate what consequence it will generate if the Sri Lankan Government is to issue an order refusing school admissions to all Indian Tamil students in Sri Lanka particularly in the plantation areas and if they are denied admissions to educational institutions, purely by way of returning the compliment of G.O. No. 597, what will be the consequences? We dread to contemplate such a possibility.

India apart from its proclamation of protecting the Tamils and promoting their advancement, assured all Sri Lankan Tamils, that they will be sent back to Sri Lanka with dignity and honour. Today it is difficult to resist the conclusion that they are being despatched with disgrace and with almost a sense of compulsory deportation. Is India throwing an invisible fence around India to Sri Lankan Tamils alone?

India, we thought was thinking in terms of promoting a South Asian consciousness by infusing a spirit of (SAARC) South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation, in the minds of the younger generation who are growing up. This Government order No. 597 is extremely offensive to such a philosophy of generating a sense of fraternity among the growing generations of SAARC, at least between Sri Lanka Tamils and India. As a leader of the Non-aligned Movement what example is India setting by throwing Sri Lankan Tamils out of her educational institutions? Is there an attempt in the G.O. to snap the thousand year old cultural links between Sri Lankan Tamils and India, particularly in the field of education and culture?

It is well known to those who know the educational profile in Sri Lanka that Sri Lankan Colleges, Polytechnics and Universities could not provide admissions to all the Tamil aspirants and one of the causes of the political tension in Sri Lanka between the Tamils and Sinhalese has been the wilful denial of educational opportunities to Tamils in Sri Lanka. Due to this reason many students had to come to India to continue their higher education. The G.O. No. 597 now clearly states that Sri Lankan Tamils should not be admitted to technical and professional institutions. Is this the way of promoting advancement of Tamils or is this the way of joining hands with the Sri Lankan Government to deny educational opportunities to Tamil students?

Has it ever occurred to any of those who have had a hand in issuing this

(Contd. on page 20)

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COMMENTARY

by D.B.S.Jayaraj

LTTE-AMIRTHALINGAM ALLIANCE?

I first heard his name mentioned in 1958 during the communal riots period. As a four year old I was not really aware of what was happening. The experience of being the only Tamil child in a Montessori in Colombo on the day that the riots began, the memory of two persons being pulled out of a bus and being burnt, the sieged mentality of Tamil relatives and friends and the horror stories discussed was enough to make even a child understand that something terrible was happening to the Tamils and that I was a Tamil. A recurrent theme among those 'Colombo' Tamils and their Sinhala friends was that a man called Appapillai Amirthalingam and his wife, Mankaiatkarasi, were a major if not the only cause for their troubles. The reason? the launching of the anti-Sri tar brush campaign. 1958 is now a dim memory but the name Amirthalingam registered.

I cannot remember when I first saw or heard him speak. There were however several occasions during the sixties. The first major political speech one remembers is during the 1970 election campaign where at Puliyankoodal he debated on a common platform with Navaratnam of the Tamil self-rule party who was contesting Kayts. Ironically Navaratnam was propounding the arguments for a Tamil State while Amirthalingam was disputing it and espousing a federal polity within the Island state.

In 1970, I entered Jaffna College as a boarder. The institution was in Vaddukkoddai, the constituency he represented for 14 years. He was out of Parliament. His two sons, Kandeepan and Pageerathan were students at the same school. His home in Moolai was only three miles away from Howland hostel. The early seventies with standardisation, the JVP revolt, the liberation of Bangladesh, the 1972 Constitution etc, was a stirring period for Tamil students.

I was one of the many youngsters who flocked at his residence for informal meetings. Also, many a Jaffna College student waiting at the bus stand to go to Jaffna town, seven miles away, was sure to get a lift in his car if there was room. Thereafter it was full of political discussion.

Another man who exerted a charismatic pull over the youths then was Communist Party's V. Ponnambalam from Alaveddy who contested SJV Chelvanayagam during the 1975 K.K.S. by-election. Discussions with him about Marxism were equally stimulating. The Tamil youths of that generation felt the tug at both ends. Yet it was the performance of the United Front Government of which the LSSP and CP were part of that was the decisive factor. The localised debate in Jaffna between Marxism and Nationalism ended in a victory for the latter. It was however a nationalism of the TULF variety. Amirthalingam along with the poet Kasi Anandan was the darling of the masses and the hero of the youth. Later V.Ponnambalam left the CP, formed the 'Red Tamil Movement' and ended up as a politbureau member of the TULF, a Jaffna synthesis between Marxism and Nationalism evolved.

'The "Tigers" must be persuaded to enter the political process'
— A.Amirthalingam

From an old Wijesoma cartoon, The Island, Colombo, 1985

One came to know him personally after entering journalism in 1977. He re-entered Parliament in the same year. Ever since then journalism as well a personal interest in political affairs has offered one the opportunity of a ringside view of the rise and fall of A.Amirthalingam. The triumphant meeting at Ramakrishna Hall where the new Tamil leader of the Opposition thundered at the Government asking them to emulate the wisdom of Tunku Abdul Rahman who allowed Singapore to secede without bloodshed. There was the convention in Aavarankal where the TULF Secretary-General warned the rebelling youth that in a military mutineers would be court martialled. During the DDC exercise, the effigy of Amirthalingam was burnt by undergraduates in Jaffna. The breach with the youth widened as Amirthalingam the consitutionalist went on to address the ceremonial opening of the New Parliament. There was the May Day when 'Amir' said only the ship's captain knows how to steer the vessel through a storm. There was the TULF contesting the local authority polls in 1983 where the LTTE disrupted an election meeting at Ainthumuchchandhi. The TULF stalwarts deserted the stage leaving Amirthalingam alone to face the wrath of the militants. Then came the Mannar Convention in 1983 where he re-asserted his authority over the party and effectively put down the challenge to his leadership by V.Navaratnam and S.C.Chandrahasan. The event was eclipsed by the killing of 13 soldiers and the July '83 violence.

EXILE

Then came the exile, voluntary at first to India. The Opposition Leader who had his official residence in Colombo damaged found shelter in the Tamil Nadu State guest house. The ensuing period saw various discussions with Indian officials, the round-table conference, the Thimpu talks, the Govt-TULF talks, the Indo-Lanka Accord etc.

Last Thursday Mr.Amirthalingam along with Mr. M. Sivasithamparam, the TULF President was in Colombo. The event in itself is not final but it was the beginning of the end of the period of exile.

The purpose of recording the above sentiments is to trace briefly the passage of time in Amirthalingam's life. To illustrate in a personal sense the fluctuating perceptions of the post-independent Tamil generation towards the TULF as political developments unfolded. Whatever the rise and fall in the political fortunes of Amirthalingam the one thing that is clear is that he is a colourful personality who cannot be totally ignored.

RACISM

Appapillai Amirthalingam is an old student of Victoria College, Chulipuram. He was in that sense an indigenous product unlike the earlier Colombo educated Tamil leadership. He was very much a son of the soil and had great empathy with the common people which accounted for his popularity. A contemporary of Mr. Ronnie de Mel, Dr. Nisanka Wijeratne etc at University College, he was for some time disciple of Dr. N.M. Perera from whom he learnt his Marxism. Although he ended up as a Tamil nationalist the Marxist fragrance lingers on and he is still considered slightly left of Centre. He introduced the concept of scientific socialism into the Federal Party lexicon.

Passing out as a lawyer he became a pioneering member of the Federal Party and contested Vaddukkoddai in 1952. He lost it. In 1956 he won the seat and retained it for 14 years. Although he lost in 1970 he continued to play an active part and along with M. Sivasithamparam of the Tamil Congress who was also defeated in Udupiddy largely responsible for the formation of the Tamil United Front. The Front re-named itself as the Tamil United Liberation Front and propounded the Eelam demand as the panacea for Tamil grievances. The old guard leadership passed away prior to the elections. The TULF under the joint leadership of Amirthalingam and Sivasithamparam swept the polls in the Tamil areas of the North and East.

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With the SLFP being reduced to 9 seats the 18 strong TULF became chief-Opposition party and Amirthalingam the Leader of the Opposition. The 1977 violence dampened the initial Tamil enthusiasm.

The first half of the 1977-83 period was characterised by a pragmatic approach. Instead of joining the government on entering into a pact separately the TULF chose to remain in the Opposition and by adopting a consociational approach sought to resolve the outstanding problems on piecemeal basis. It also sought to join forces with the opposition parties in focussing attention on general issues. It was in a way a bid to neutralise the opposition into accepting provisions recognising Tamil rights without demurring. The strategy worked only to some extent as running with the hare and hunting with the hounds was a very difficult art which requires tremendous stamina. Both the Government and the Opposiiton were not happy with the TULF. The 1978 constitution, the new scheme for varsity admission, the Commission of Devolution etc all creditable achievements. Yet on the other hand Tamil militancy was rising and the State treating as a law and order issue was resorting to stern measures like the emergency regulations. Prevention of Terrorism Act which in turn was causing resentment among the general Tamil population. Racist elements were stirring up violence against the Tamils in the South.

The TULF to avoid civilian massacres was desisting from launching extra-parliamentary agitations. The Tamil youth were getting dis-illusioned with the TULF in general and Amirthalingam in particular. He was a victim of the political crossfire.

Amirthalingam banked his hopes on the DDC's. He staked his political future in going through with it. The TULF won six of the seven District Development Councils. There seemed a chance that if the councils worked Tamil passions could be contained and aspirations realised. That chance never came because the councils never worked or were allowed to work. The undercurrents and cross-currents within the Government, the reluctance collectively to devolve power to the periphery from a constitution which had centralised power and the reluctance individually of line ministers to share power contributed to a stalemate.

With the failure of the DDC's the end of the parliamentary road drew closer. The 1983 local authority polls showed this clearly. It seemed clear that the TULF would not be allowed by the youths to remain in Paliament after 1983 July. The TULF itself evolved a complicated formula at the Mannar Convention whereby they sought to tide over the crisis. Events started overtaking. The 1983 July violence was a watershed.

SEVERE BLOW

Again the TULF was dealt a severe blow which was in a way a blessing in disguise. The Sixth Amendment proferred the TULF an honourable way out of Parliament. But what was not realised was that the death-knell of representative democracy in the Tamil areas had been sounded. After four years desperate attempts are being made to revive the situation. The medical expertise offered by the Indian political system and military machine, the generous aid offered by the west to defray the cost of medical treatment is of no avail. The patient stirs only to slip into deeper coma.

Amirthalingam's last hope was India. He went there in 1983 and as mentioned earlier engaged himself in political activity that was largely propagandistic and diplomatic. In the meantime the predicament that befalls many a political exile fell on him too. Increased absence from the home soil and enhanced identification with the host country was eroding his political base. The spiralling violence of which intra-Tamil violence was also significant was cutting his political feet. As time flew the process accelerated. 'Time is of the essence' cried out an anguished Amir.

Finally the Accord came. Not a satisfactory solution for Tamil problems. Yet the important aspect was peace and a political opportunity of achieving more powers. Then came the violence between India and the LTTE. Amir thalingam was placed in an unenviable position. His political stature decreased further.

Finally the exile has returned. This may be even an exercise in feeling the pulse of his people. It also may herald the advent of a peaceful settlement being in sight.

The return of the exile does not mean that Mr.Amirthalingam has merely to pick up the threads from where he left and proceed as usual. It also does not mean that he is a spent force and has no role to play in current period. If one was to look at the rise and fall of Amirthalingam it should be seen that as a leader of a minority community the limits of his power could never reach dizzying heights. Likewise in present situation he may be marginalised but he is certainly not an extinguished force. The man has moved from centre-stage to the wings because the dialogue has changed from ballot to bullet yet another twist of the on-going political drama would focus the spotlight on him again. There may be no wild cheers of 'Encore' but the applause has not died down entirely. If and when representative democracy enters the Tamil political realm and free and fair elections becomes a reality then Appapillai Amirthalingam will re-emerge as a political force to reckon with even if he will not be the dominant one. If on the other hand the TULF is able to achieve an understanding with the groups particularly the Tigers then his position would be even better.

Under the present circumstances the chief enemy of the Tigers seems to be Mr. Amirthalingam against whom death sentence notices have sprung up but the reality is that both the TULF and the LTTE derive its strength and owe its origins to the same socio-political base.

LTTE-TULF link

There are others who think of a LTTE-TULF alliance without Mr. Amirthalingam. Again the real situation is that a TULF without Amirthalingam will be like a Hamlet sans the Prince of Denmark in the same way as an LTTE without Prabakaran is hard to imagine. Amirthalingam and Prabakaran are the 'Kovil Melam' or Temple drums of the TULF and LTTE respectively. During the period of 'Thiruvila' or festival many other drums and drummers are inducted into the festivity. Yet despite the drumming of several 'Mel melam' or extra drums the 'Ther' or Chariot will begin the procession only when the 'Kovil Melam' is beaten. If this is realised and an LTTE-TULF alliance proves fruitful the danger then to Amirthalingam will be from the so-called democratic forces than the so-called fascist forces.

A historical appreciation of the Tamil struggle would show that it is both a non-violent and violent struggle. In the same manner as one does not expect Prabakaran to emulate Amirthalingam one does not expect Amirthalingam to do a Prabakaran. The specifics of a non-violent struggle produced an Amirthalingam. The exigencies of a violent struggle produced a Prabakaran. One would naturally be redundant in the other sphere and vice-versa. The future however is not Amirthalingam's past or Prabakaran's present. It is one that of the people in their entirety. The sooner this is realised the better.

Contd. from p.5

Kandasamy's single-minded commitment and lack of personal or political ambition became more evident during the period after July 1983 when he spent most of his time, in spite of his heart ailment, in the offices of the Tamil Information Centre and the Central British Trust Fund for Tamil Refugees in London. SCOT, being engaged in similar activities, had the opportunity to undertake certain joint ventures in which Kandasamy played a key role.

He raised enormous sums of money from western-based non-governmental funding agencies for rehabilitation and reconstruction work in Sri Lanka. It was his commitment to the reconstruction of the devastated Tamil areas and the rehabilitation of the thousands of Tamil people that encouraged him to return to the island.

SCOT, while condemning his abduction, has appealed to those who are holding him in captivity to release him unharmed without delay so that he might resume his humanitarian service to the community.

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INDEMNITY LAW — 'MILITARISATION' ADVANCES

MERVYN DE SILVA

It was a coincidence of course but too striking not to mark well. Just two days after the Minister of National Security, Mr. Lalith Athulathmudali scoffed at the latest Amnesty report on Sri Lanka, the government gazetted a Bill to Indemnify all PTA enforcers for 8 1/2 years – from the Introduction of the PTA in July 1979 to Dec. 1987! The Bill covers all persons who acted 'lawfully or unlawfully'! And the ambit of the proposed law which is certain to be passed in a Parliament where the governing party enjoys a five-sixths majority is so wide that it covers almost every action taken by an 'offender'.

The indemnity embraces the lawful or unlawful act of any individual who was 'involved in the detection, prevention or prosecution of any person indulging in unlawful activities specified in the Prevention of Terrorism Act'.

In short, they are protected from being charged for human rights violatins. Or, from the citizen's point of view, his Fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution mean little if the transgression can be covered by the proposed Bill. Police and Security personnel will no longer bother to act under 'emergency regulations' tough as they are. Once their 'lawful or unlawful' actions are covered by the PTA, and were committed before Dec. 31 1987, they are totally immune. And since by 1989, the law is likely to be extended to cover such activities until Dec. 31st 1988, the immunity is not only absolute but permanent.

An interesting feature is that this retroactive legislation is being introduced by a party that was so violently opposed to such measures by its United Front (1970-77) predecessor that it made a dirty word of 'retroactive'!

Official sources told the SUN which made a frontpage lead story of the new bill that the government's intention was to prevent 'frivolous' cases being filed against members of the security forces. Fair enough. But who is to judge what is frivolous or not? The Executive or the Judiciary? In any event, this Bill when it becomes law does not permit any legal action to be instituted. It states:

'No court of law or tribunal shall have the power or jurisdiction to entertain or inquire into or hear and determine, any such action or proceeding...'

In order to prevent 'frivolous' charges, all legal proceedings against security personnel will be automatically disallowed. In other words, security personnel, including those who may have committed 'unlawful' acts, such as murder or torture, will be affectively above the law and the Constitution. Security personnel become a special class of citizen.

This step, shocking and horrendous as it is, does not reflect badly on this or that 'law enforcement agency' of the Government or its Army, Navy or Air force. Or of any particular Police Chief or service Commander. Indeed its enormous importance lies in precisely that fact – the far-reaching legislation change to afford extraordinary immunity to an institution – the country's armed forces and police.

A few days after 'black July' (1983), Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, answering a question on its likely consequences, surprised the present writer with this brief reply: 'The army has thrust itself into politics'. Of course, he meant the services.

The armed conflict created an increasingly larger role for the 'law-and-order' agencies, the police unable to contain the conflict on its own.

Indeed, such was the 'security threat', new specially trained units were established to cope with the varlegated challenges of this threat' to the State. One was the Special Task Force (STF) an elite police commando unit, trained by foreign mercenaries brought here by the KMS, a Channel Islands-based British Firm formed by former S.A.S. ('Dogs of War') personnel, and by Pakistani, Israeli Instructors. We then had the 'Home Guards' and other paramilitary units and militias. Defence spending, the Finance Minister kept complaining bitterly, rose from 2 percent of the annual budget to nearly 20 percent.

The L.G. chose to call this 'the militarisation process' for there was no rapid transformation of the nature of government and State, no dramatic transition from civilian government to junta via coup d'etat or power-sharing arrangement, a change so familiar to the Third World. The Presidency and indeed civilian Authority were very much in command. But all these visible, radical changes amounted to a process, distinctly Third Worldist in character. It is a new 'period of transition' but not of the type which Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike sought to announce in a characteristically rhetorical fashion.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Accord brought an end to the Army's direct participation in the northern conflict. But on the very day, it was signed, a new security threat emerged even more dramatically – the violent opposition of the Sinhalese majority, which was soon to assume a more well-defined character and invite the descriptive title of 'the JVP threat', or in Sri Kotha Idiom 'Southern terrorism' and in the mainstream, state run media, 'Southern subversives'.

The Southern Province Polls, both a prestige battle for the UNP as well as a UNP-JVP tussle to demonstrate each other's 'effective control' of the deep South is now over. A new phase begins.

The administrative and operational changes are explained in this report from the WEEKEND, a summary of the weekly 'Situation Report', by the exceptionally well-informed Iqbal Athas:

'The government will effect a major reorganisation of the security set up in the South with immediate effect.

' "WEEKEND" reliably learns that measures will include a phased withdrawal of the Police Special Task Force (STF) and the appointment of new Military Co-ordinating Officers to areas affected by subversive activity.

'With these changes, the security forces and Police will launch a massive public relations drive intended to overcome the fear psychosis created by the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna.

'Details about the proposed changes, 'WEEKEND' learns are now being worked out by General Cyril Ranatunga, General Officer Commanding the Joint Operations Command, in consultation with President J.R. Jayewardene.

'The primary objective of the new exercise is to ensure normal conditions exist for the conduct of both General and Presidential elections.

'Highly place security sources said personnel of the STF who will be withdrawn from southern positions will be re-assigned.

'A Brigade Commander is also to be named for the Southern sector. Colonel Lucky Algama, Military Co-ordinating Officer for Ratnapura who is based in Embilipitiya is being strongly tipped for this possition.'

Some political sociologists who have studied the intricate, multifarious ways in which armed conflict introduces the army as a major actor in the political drama have gone beyond 'militarisation'. When the armed conflict is not resolved but in fact assumes a new, ever-changing shape, civilian regimes need to rely more and more on the military which in turn demands not only more power, and more resources, but a special status and privileges. In the end we have the emergence of a 'military system' which is quite different from that which exists in First or Second world societies, argues Johann Galtung in his essay 'Military Formations and Social Formations: A structural Analysis'. His focus is not on the military system as it operates in conflicts between States but within States, The Third World phenomenon. In any case, says Galtung, the growth rate of the military system is much higher in the Third World. The Special emphasis of his study is on how the military system relates to 'social structure in which it is embedded the society that produces and reproduces the system, the degree of interdependence – the society forming the military system and vice versa – becoming' more pronounced as the military system becomes stronger and more 'developed'.

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A COUNTRY UNITED BY FEAR

The cynics could as well say: Sri Lanka is at last one united country, united by one common thread – fear!

Be it north or east, south or west, a fear psychosis is quietly gripping the whole island. There is no more, in terms of the mental state, a north-south divide. President Jayewardene who talked endlessly for the past ten years about 'Northern Terrorists' has now his hands full with 'Southern Terrorists'. The 'Northern Terrorists' anyway are no longer confined to the north – or east. Some of them have found safe living in the south as well. The AK-47 has now found a new brother in the south – the T-56!

The classic right-left divide in Sri Lankan politics is gradually getting effaced. Both rightists and leftists are together falling like nine pins under the assassins' bullets – united in death! Even the centre is unable to hold.

The liberals are under threat. Academics are leaving, both Sinhala and Tamil. Universities are closed. The Sinhala people who went along with their governments in trying to restrict higher education to the Tamils are now paying their price. There is hardly any room for the intelligensia anymore – either in the north or south. Those who remain must either lie low or serve some master. Every politician has to become a manipulator, or else end up as a lame duck, like the once powerful Finance Minister Ronnie De Mel.

The security forces themselves are not wholly secure. Desertions have become common and infiltrations a way of life. Looking at the lower ranks one cannot know whether he is soldier, sailor or subversive. Minister of National Security Lalith Athulathmudali is himself suffering from a feeling of insecurity. Everyone is killing everyone else, and no one is wiser at the end as to who is killing, whom? Thousands of people must surely be knowing who the killers are, but no one dares to give information. What does one make of a police who could be excused for failing to act when the identity of a killer is unknown, but shrug their shoulders and do nothing because they KNOW the identity of the killer?

There was a time, in the case of democratic societies' one spoke of 'Public Accountability'. The man at the top is always accountable to his people. But no one bothers about it any more, least of all the man at the top himself. As far as President Jayewardene is concerned, the level of turpitude into which Sri Lanka has descended during his eleven years of rule has nothing to do with him! It was due either to the 'Northern Terrorists' or the 'Southern Terrorists'. But who is there to question him? The superpowers congratulate him on his accord with the Indian establishment. The regional superpower is shoring him up, because there is no other way of achieving her own regional interests. The press, muzzled and threatened, has become a dull dog, no more a watch dog. The late Indian leader Rajagopalachari used to say that as long as the people are dumb, the rulers will be deaf. But where are the people? Their tongues are tied, their hands are manacled, and their minds are frozen. They move around like zombies talk in whispers while the country goes to rack and ruin. Is it that no one seems to care, or that no one dares to care?

We invite our readers to peruse carefully the Sri Lankan situation report, a diary of events in the preceding month of June. Is the country once known as 'Paradise Isle' steadily moving towards anarchy? What portents do they offer for the immediate future? The real issues are not provincial councils, autonomy and merger, ceasefires and accords. The ones that really matter are much more malignant. There is a deeper human malaise, a total collapse of values.

The country, the rulers, the people are sitting on the top of a volcano. The erupting lava could envelope the whole country and could well make the preceding 11-year violence seem like schoolgirl picnics.

SRI LANKA – THE SOUTHERN SCENE

Since July last year, the Peoples Liberation Front (JVP) has unleashed a campaign of terror and violence. It is directed against anyone who supports the devolution of powers through Provincial Councils as envisaged in the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. The JVP has characterised even the limited devolution of powers envisaged as tantamounting to division of the country. The victims have included members of the ruling United National Party, security forces, government officials, and even members of the opposition parties, mainly of the United Socialist Alliance which support the establishment of Provincial Councils and the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

Every succeeding month has witnessed an ever escalating scenario of violence. Although not exaustive, the following represent incidents of violence which occurred in the month of June 1988:

JUNE 1

* In Nuwara Eliya, nine people were injured in a bomb explosion in a government office building.
* At least eight government offices in Matara and two in Matale were set on fire.
* At Ratmalana, a person was killed when a bomb he was carrying exploded. He was on his way to attack a candidate contesting the PC elections.
* Police shot dead a person at Wanawasala in Hunupitiya who was carrying a T-56 rifle.
* Police Constable Rajakaruna was abducted and stabbed to death at Wanduramba, some 13 miles off Galle.
* A lorry and a bus belonging to the state Transport Board were set on fire at Ambalangoda.
* The Assistant Government Agent's office at Akmeemana was set on fire.
* Bombs thrown at the residence of a Provincial Council candidate at Wellampitya.
* A train was derailed as the track had been blown up at Pothupittiya in Wadduwa.
* At Kalutara, unidentified gang forced passengers and the driver off a bus belonging to the state Transport Board and set the vehicle on fire.
* At Mirigama, the guards wagon of a Colombo bound train was blown up, while the Colombo bound train was set on fire at Kurana in Negombo.
* An attempt to attack a transformer was thwarted by the police at Bulathsinhala.
* A grenade was thrown at the house of USA Provincial Council candidate in the Bulathsinhala area, but no one was hurt.
* At Pattipola, 15 railway sleepers were burnt, while on the Alawwa-Ambepussa track sleepers were laid across disrupting train services.
* A railway signal room at Polgahawela was set on fire while a transformer at Narammala was damaged.
* An attempt made to setfire to the Wattala Magistrate's Court was foiled by police.
* In several areas of Colombo and its suburbs, a virtual curfew was observed and shops and business establishments were shut following threats by JVP members.
* At Anguruwatte, the District Development Council office was set on fire.
* A school was partly burnt when it was set on fire at Nagollagama.
* A Colombo bound train was set on fire at Kurana in Negombo.

JUNE 2

* An armed gang in a jeep raided the Yala Game Sanctuary and got away with 30 guns and 280 cartridges, 3 wakie-talkies and VHF radio sets.
*–Ratnayake, a policeman, was killed at Matugama when an armed gang with assault rifles and grenades attacked a polling station. A police sergent was seriously injured in the same area in an attack on another polling station.
* Two police constables on duty were injured when an armed gang made a bomb attack on the residence of H.L.Piyasena, the Superintendent of Police, Nugegoda.
* An armed gang entered the residence of the Katudeniya Grama Sevaka and shot him dead when he and his family members were asleep. The Government Agent's office and a post office were set on fire in the same area.
* Police personnel on duty at a school at Doolewela in Mahawela were attacked and relieved of two 303 rifles, and two ballot boxes and bundles of polling cards were thrown into a government jeep and set on fire.
* Grenades were thrown at a polling station at Hulangamuwa in Matale while in another incident in Nuwara Eliya four polling stations were subjected to gun.
* The Gampola-Peradeniya road wa made impassable at Agunawela by felled trees.
* Two armed men were shot dead by the army when they attempted to set fire to a private lorry in the Dambulla police area.
* The Grama Sevaka of Katuliya was shot dead and at Wariyapola two state-run buses were set on fire.
* Two jeeps belonging to the Mahaweli Development Authority were set on fire.
* Two persons were shot dead at Akuressa.

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JUNE 3

* The driver and guard were injured when an armed gang fired shots at a train proceeding from Colombo to Ambepussa. The incident occurred at Pallewala.
* Armed men robbed valuable articles such as a photo copying machine and typewriters from the District Development Council office at Bibile and later set it on fire, and at Bentota three lorries and a petrol bowser were destroyed by fire.
* At Amparai school children were tear-gassed while demonstrating.
* Demonstrating students were tear-gassed at Uhana.
* After forcing the passengers to get off, two state-run buses were set on fire at Wariyapola.

JUNE 4

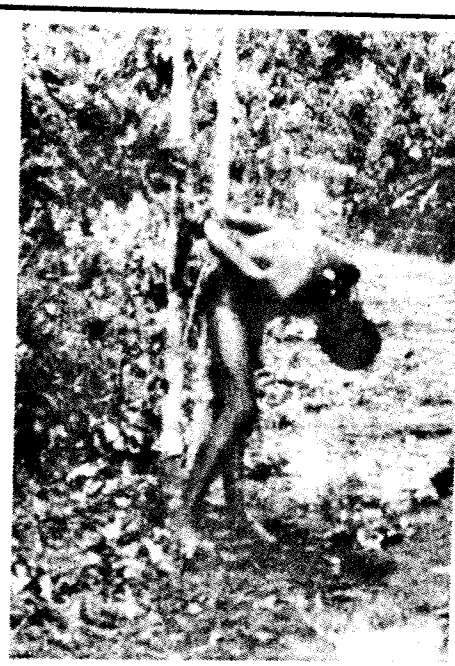
* The Rural Development Society building was set ablaze at Siyambalaweuda.
* Mahinda Vithanage, a postman on his delivery round was stabbed and relieved of polling cards.
* Three men in Khaki uniforms armed with 'galakatas' (locally made shot guns) shot at K.P.Hemachandra and K.Jinasiri, two UNP supporters, at Maliduwa in Matara.
* Armed men set fire to the residence of A.J.Munasinghe, a United Socialist Front candidate, in the Matara town.
* About ten armed men set fire to the Gihani Garments factory at Bibile in Moneragala.
* Armed men broke into Kundasale Farm School and got away with valuable equipment.
* An armed gang of about 20 youths attacked the residence of Dayananda Kumarasiri, MP for Wellawaya, with shot guns and revolvers. The attackers retreated when sentries opened fire.
* A live trap bomb planted in the corridor of a house at the Bekkegama housing scheme was defused by the police.

JUNE 5

* A supporter of the United Socialist Alliance was killed at Matara.
* A person attached to the technical branch of the Sri Lankan Army was arrested at Slave Island in Colombo by police when he was walking away with a T-56 automatic riffle belonging to another army officer.
* The electrical transformer at Wetiya in Hambantota was set on fire and power supply to the area was affected.
* The AGA's office at Dembarawewa in Tissamaharama was set on fire.
* Three armed men had threatened the watcher at the residence of the Superintendent, State Plantation Corporation at Walahanduwa and got away with three shot guns.
* An armed gang had come to the house of Gramodaya Mandalaya Chairman, P.M.Punchirala and fired at the occupants.

JUNE 6

* S.Ratnasuriya, an army private shot himself with a T-56 automatic rifle while being on duty at the army camp at Sevanagala in Uda Walawe.
* Noel Amarasinghe, a remand prisoner at the Colombo Remand Centre was shot dead by another remand prisoner, Kotiyagoda Nihal. The victim and the attacker had belonged to rival political groups.
* H.E.Gunawardene, a former SLFP man, now supporting an Independent group of candidates was killed.
* A Provincial Council candidate belonging to the United Socialist Alliance was stabbed to death at Matara, while Mendis Wijesuriya, an independent candidate was shot dead at Hunugama.
* At Anuradhapura and Amparai, hundreds of students engaged in rowdy anti-government demonstrations, and the police tear-gassed demonstrators at Uhana.
* The Rural Court House in Uva Paranagama was det on fire.



A victim of the JVP, B.R. Jayasekera, a merchant of Bengamuwa, was dragged from his house, shot, tied and then burnt on April 26, 1988.

JUNE 7

* The Matara bound train from Colombo was fired at Polathumodara in Weligama and two passengers received injuries.
* At Homagama, passengers were forced to get off a state-run bus which was set alight.
* In Tangalle, two persons were killed when an armed gang fired at a vehicle in which a UNP candidate was travelling.
* In Buttala, two men were killed when soldiers opened fire at a gang attempting set fire to a lorry.
* Army defused a bomb burried near the Matuwana Central School which was to be a polling station for tomorrow's election.
* Several schools in Amparai and Anuradhpura were closed due to violent scenes.
* Police recovered two landmines meant to blow up two bridges in the Kelaniya police area.
* Police constable Meegahakottuwa was killed in the course of an attack upon the District Development Council Office at Hali Ela.
* At Wellawaya, police fired on students boycotting school. The Principal and some students suffered injuries.
* Schools remained closed at Mawarella, Gandara, Tallala and Nugawela.
* At Akmeemana, Dayawansa, a supporter of the United Socialist Alliance, was killed when a bomb was flung at his shop which remained opened in defiance of JVP's instructions. Several shops which remained open were similarly attacked.
* Leaflets purported to be issued by the Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya, the miliatry arm of the JVP, were widely distributed threatening death to all shop keepers who kept their premises open. Posters stating 'Close shops, or face death' were pasted all over. In some places, police using crowbars forced open shops and ordered them to remain open. They confiscated two cameras of a Reuter Photographer who was taking pictures of the scene.

JUNE 8

* Schools remained closed at Gampaha, Veyangoda and Moratuwa.
*-Two jeeps belonging to the government were set ablaze at Kegalle.
*-A bus carrying police personnel was attacked with petrol bombs at Dickwella.
* Huge trees were felled and placed across roads in Weligama, Mirissa, Beliatte and Kamburugamuwa.
* Due to threats, shops and business establishments in various parts of the southern province remained closed.
* A UNP provincial council candidate, M.Nagaratne, was shot at in Bope, Galle.
* At Weligama, a bomb placed in the lavatory of a super market exploded, but there were no casualties.
* Two bombs were set off at Ratgama junction, although no one was hurt.
* Two youths allegedly in possession of 16 cartrides were arrested by police at Matale.
* The office of the District Development Council at Suriyagoda was set on fire.
* Four persons were injured when bombs were lobbed into the Rajagiriya residence of Noel Amarasinghe, the suspect taken into custody in connection with an attempt on the life of the Peoples Bank Chairman. Noel Amarasinghe himself was gunned down with a smuggled revolver insider the remand prison on 6 June.
* The UNP office at Warakapola was completely destroyed when it was set on fire.
* At Bibile, an electricity transformer was destroyed by fire.

JUNE 9

* A.Mendis, Grama Sevaka, was shot dead at Middeniya.
* A civilian was killed when a polling station at Malimboda in Matara was stormed by an armed gang.
* Soldiers defused a landmine at Puwakanda on the Tangalle-Beliatte road while another was defused at Werakatiya.
* The residence of D.De Silva, Mayor of Galle, was fired at.
* At Mattakuliya, a state-run bus was set on fire.
* In Colombo, a bomb was thrown in front of the capital's main railway station.
* A bomb was thrown from a passing car in the Maharagama town.
* At Tissamahargama, a UNP provincial council candidate, Mr.Udapola was killed.
* Two persons were burnt to death at Puttalam.
* A government lorry with wheat flour was burnt at Peradeniya and a post office was set ablaze at Handurana.
* Elections officials on a jungle trail carrying ballot boxes were ambushed by an armed gang. An air force helicopter had to be pressed into service to rescue the officials and retrieve the ballot boxes.

June 10

* Two persons out of a gang of 15 to 20 shot dead by police when the gang was attempting to set fire to the Bandarawela Magistrates Court building.
* Police recovered and defused a landmine from a railway track at Horape in Ragama, and at Siyabalanduwa, a petrol bowser was set on fire.
* Police tear-gassed demonstrating students at Veyangoda, Nitambuwa and Kirindiwela.
* K.P. Upasena, a well known businessman was shot dead at Wellawaya
* Provincial Council UNP candidate in the Matara district, Sumitra Weerasinghe was shot dead at his residence in Dickwella.

June 11

* The Columbo bound 'Yaldevi' train from Vavuniya was held up by an armed gang at Ganewatte and the passengers, mostly Tamils, were robbed of cash, jewellery and other valuables.

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* The office of the Mahaveli Development Board at Binkama was attacked by an armed gang which got away with twelve guns. Two security men were injured in the attack.
* The JVP which previously threatened to kill the first five voters, carried out the threat by killing G. Munendra who was the first to cast his vote at Tissamaharama.
* Another early voter G Manamendra was stabbed to death at Hambantota.
* Police Constable on guard duty at Town Council offices was shot dead at Hali Ela.

June 12

* The electrical sub-station at Kandy was set on fire.
* Offices of the Water Resources Board was burnt.
* Four persons received gunshot injuries at Indimitiya in Kandana when gunmen fired at a reception given to the Ja-Ela UNP Provincial Council Member Felix Perera.

June 13

* UNP Provincial Council member D.T.G. Sirisena, aged 60, was shot dead while returning home from a meeting of the District Development Council.
* An armed gang stormed into a house at Badulla where a wedding reception was taking place and forcibly relieved the guests of their jewellery and other valuables worth many thousands of rupees.
* At Bibile, an armed gang broke into the fhouse of H.M. Gunasekera and got away with valuable property worth over Rs. 31,000.
* Gunmen fired at a mobile police patrol on duty at Urubokka in Matara.
* Three men alleged by police to be su bversives and identified as D.M. Karunatilake, P.Rupasena, and P.G. Sunil, were shot dead in a gun battle with the police at Galahitiya near Kataragama.
* D. Nonis Appuhamay, a supporter of the United Socialist Alliance was killed in his own home.
* At Dickwella, two persons on a motor cycle were shot dead as they were returning after closing their shops. The victims, W. Weerasinghe and R. Susantha, were said to be relatives of the UNP Provincial Council candidate.
* At Wattegama, police baton-charged a crowd of about 300 students of the Madhya Maha Vidyalaya as they demonstrated demanding the release of detained university students.
* An unattended parcel found on the road at Hulangamuwa contained eight locally made bombs which were later defused by police.

June 14

* Students of four Central Senior schools in the Matara area boycotted classes for the second successive day forcing the closure of the schools.

June 15

* Four armed men held up at gunpoint staff of a rural agricultural bank at Welipanna in Kalutara and got away with over Rs. 56,000.
* The Electricity Board and the Government Railway estimate their loss following the previous week of violence to be in the region of Rs. 100 million.
* A customs officer, P.A. Dias, was attacked with a barber's razor.

June 16

* K.L.L.D. Perera, aged 28 was found dead with stab injuries in Embilipitiya.
* Attempt to set fire to the residence of Cabinet Minister Vincent Perera at Blomendhal Lane, Kotahena was thwarted by passers-by.
* Two policemen, Bannistus and Nagasinghe, killed and two more seriously injured when a police patrol unit was attacked by JVP men at Lunugamvehara in Hambantota.
* A police sergeant who refused to part with his gun was shot dead.

June 17

* J. Hathurusinghe, Cultivation Officer of the Department of Agriculture was shot dead at Malimboda in Akuressa.
* At Yatiyana in Hakmana, about 20 youths surrounded the house of a police constable, Gunaratne Vitharana, shot at him and later hacked him to death.
* UNP supporter, G.P. Rannis, was shot dead at Tissamaharama.
* W.W.Wijedasa, falsely claiming to be a JVP member and who was extorting money from shop owners was dragged out from his home by JVP cadres and shot dead at Hunugama.
* A gunman armed with a galkatas (locally made shot gun) made a daring escape after shooting at and injuring a man produced on a robbery charge before Embilipitiya Magistrates Court.
* Armed youths broke into a house and stole three shot guns and 15 cartridges from some houses in Bulathsinhala.
* A person alleged to be a member of the JVP was gunned down for not carrying out the order given by the organisation and his body was found on the Hakmana - Beliatte Road with a poster labelling him as 'a traitor'.

June 18

* 150 students from about 50 schools in Matara, Tangalle, Moneragala, Gampaha and Kandy districts have been suspended for indulging in 'agitation', according to the Secretary to the Ministry of Education, Mr. E.L. Wijemanne.
* An airman, D.H. Bandhusena (28) was shot dead at Mamoya in Ambalantota.
* Among the four allegedly JVP supporters arrested at Ambalantota, one was identified as G. Jothiratne, a recent deserter from the Sri Lankan army.
* A polititican was threatened by a gang of young men who removed four guns at Anuradhpura.

June 20

* Schoolboy N. Jayawardene was killed and four other students seriously injured when security personnel in a passing vehicle fired at student demonstrators from the Vijitha Maha Vidyalaya in Dickwella.
* Piyaratne Gamage, aged 48, who was a defeated United Socialist Alliance candidate in the PC elections was fired at while at home. Four others were also injured in the attack.
* A teacher at Uggalboda Maha Vidyalaya was shot dead and school teachers' salaries amounting to Rs. 69,000 was robbed by an armed gang.
* Assistant Registrar of Colombo University Jinasena Kumaragamage, his wife, 14-year old son and five-year old niece injured in a bomb attack on his home.
* Father of suspected JVPer accused of killing supporters of Indo-Sri Lanka accord was in turn shot dead by unknown gunmen.

June 21

9 Security reinforced all over south. School attendance drops by around 70%
* Parliamentary Affairs Minister Vincent Perera says activities of southern subversives had shown considerable increase when compared with same period last month. 43 political murders and 23 other murders were committed.
* Grid sub-station at Ratmalana which feeds about 100,000 consumers of electricity was put out of commission.
* Police constable 11791 Wilbert was shot dead inside police quarters at Anuradhapura.

June 22

* Hand grenade thrown into house of UNP organiser B. Premasiri de Silva.
* Students of Dharmapala Vidyalaya at Watiya set fire to government bus.
* Two shot guns removed from watcher's premises in Kurunegala.
* Three remand prisoners jump off a moving bus and make good their escape at Yatiyana.
* Gang set fire to Rural Development Training Centre at Dickwella.
* A.G.A's office burnt down at Akuressa.

June 23

* Pradeshiya Sabha Council building watcher stabbed and premises set on fire at Bingirya.

June 26

* Communist leader and politburo member L.W. Panditha stabbed to death in Colombo. Professor Ralph Buultjens abducted, warned and released in Colombo.

June 27

* Attempt made on life of Deputy Minister Gamini Athukorale at Ratnapura. One alleged assailant shot dead and T56 assault rifle and ammunition recovered.

June 28

* Policeman killed at Hambantota. Four UNP members slain in Galle, Dondra and Dickwella.

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HAS RIGGING COME TO STAY?

Allegations of polls rigging are now becoming common, both in Sri Lanka and in India. The first time rigging was tried out in Sri Lanka was in 1981, and the victims, as in anything, were Tamils. Determined to wrest at least one seat at the Jaffna District Development Council elections, the UNP administration failed badly, but they did try hard, so hard that six whole ballot boxes were found missing. It was later reported that one box was discovered in the hotel room of a Cabinet Minister who had come down from Colombo to supervise the polls.

Both at the recent Provincial Council elections in Sri Lanka as well as the Indian by-elections there have been several allegations by Opposition parties, and in one instance in India, a repoll has been ordered. An indignant Sri Lankan Commissioner of Elections Chandrananda de Silva said: 'The use of force whether in an attempt to disrupt the poll or rig the poll should be equally condemned as two sides of the same coin ...'.

Those who try to disrupt the electoral process could be least be dealt with under the common law. But what does one do to those who subvert the process from within? Especially when they are themselves members of the governing process? Is rigging becoming part of the manipulative politics in both countries? Seven Opposition parties in Sri Lanka, including the SLFP, the MEP, the Tamil Congress and the Muslim Congress have already demanded that international monitors should be invited to oversee the Parliamentary and Presidential elections due to be held before the end of the year.

Pardon him, sir . . . he's new to rigging. In his enthusiasm to ensure our victory, he went too far and the constituency registered 250% polling . . .

Cartoon: Courtesy 'HINDU'

TULF LEADERS IN COLOMBO

'TULF leaders look mellowed', said Colombo journalist **Mervyn de Silva** in a despatch to the DECCAN HERALD, India, dated 28 June. Here are some excerpts from his article:-

Colombo, June 27 — Holed up in their modest third floor rooms in the Hotel Taprobane, a far cry from the State guest houses they had occupied for many years, the leaders of the Tamil United Liberation Front had just returned to the island after five years of self-imposed exile when I called on Mr.Amirthalingam, the TULF Secretary General and Sri Lanka's Opposition leader from 1977 to 1983. He and his fellow ex-MPs looked much mellowed but showed little trace of bitterness. On hindsight it is the Sri Lanka government, if not the entire political establishment and probably all intelligent Sinhalese, that had cause to reflect bitterly on the tragic error of Constitutional Amendment No.6.

After the bloody anti-Tamil riots of July 1983, a panic-stricken Government which only six months earlier had extended the life of Parliament by another six years through a most questionable referendum, rushed through Parliament an amendment compelling all MPs to take an oath renouncing separatism. Rather than take an oath disavowing the party's main aim, however rhetorical, TULF chose to honourably forfeit their 15 seats. By doing so, the TULF, which won every seat in the Northern Province and many in the East, left a leadership vacuum in Tamil politics. The 'Tigers' once the TULF's young admirers but already frustrated and furious over the manifest ineffectiveness of the TULF parliamentarians seized the day . . .

Today's issue is none other than its direct outcome. How much power will the 'Tigers' concede to the party for which the Tamils voted overwhelmingly at the last elections? The LTTE's short answer is zero. Many a young 'Tiger' is insulting the TULF leadership with a rude Tamil version of the American 'Where were you during the War, Daddy?' . . .

Mr.Amirthalingam and the TULF have a role cut out for them, and they seem quite clear about it. It is a much smaller role than they bargained for. Yet it is an honourable one. 'The Tamils want peace. The pursuit of a military solution any longer cannot ensure that', he told me.

When I asked him what was the first step he would recommend, he replied the surrender of arms, not only by the 'Tigers' but by all armed groups in the north and east, Tamil and non-Tamil, and by State-sponsored militias such as Home Guards. Next, he added, the IPKF must guarantee the safety and security of the LTTE leaders and other militants. Thirdly, resources must be found for the rehabilitation of the LTTE cadres.

Finally, the 'Tigers' must be persuaded to enter the political process on condition they are ready to co-operate in the implementation of the 'peace accord', whatever reservations they may have. He said: 'We of the TULF have many reservations too. Yet we are prepared to help implement the accord'. As for the Sri Lankan government's obligations, Mr.Amirthalingam specified two. 'Guarantee a free and fair poll, and an announcement of the north-and-east merger as soon as possible'.

NO COURT ACTION AGAINST IPKF

— DIXIT

Since the IPKF is a foreign force operating in Sri Lanka under the terms of the Indo-Lanka accord the question of local citizens filing habeas corpus applications against Indian Army officers does not arise according to Indian High Commissioner, J.N. Dixit.

The Indian High Commissioner was replying to a question as to whether Brigadier Manjid Singh of the IPKF intends to seek legal immunity in a case filed against him by Parameswaran Sumathy in the Court of Appeal.

In her habeas corpus application Mrs Sumathy of Cheddikulam states that her brother Parameswaran Kenga (22) was arrested by IPKF officers attached to the Vavuniya camp on April 5th.

She has cited Brigadier Manjid Singh and the Attorney General as respondents.

Brigadier Manjith Singh of the Vavuniya IPKF camp has been cited as a respondent in a Habeas Corpus Application field in the Court of Appeal registry challenging arrest of one Parameswaran Kenga (22). The application was filed by Attorney-at-Law Mr. A.Vinayagamoorthi on behalf of Kenga's daughter Sumathi, for her father to be produced before a Court of Law.

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QUOTE... UNQUOTE

ANGER OVER HUNGER

Three thousand public servants sent to man polling stations in the Southern Province elections, marched through the streets of Matara in protest, the Island reported on the day before the elections. They were protesting the lack of food and water.

Matara, a town that symbolises Southernness in the public mind, also witnessed another extraordinary manifestation of revolt in unlikely quarters. A group of policemen surrounded the police inspector's car and hooted him, according to the same report. They too were protesting the lack of food and other essentials.

About 15,000 policemen had been despatched to the South for special duty, according to official announcements. A large contingent of troops had also been deployed. There were no reports of protests from service personnel.

Strangely, the idea that an army marches on its stomach was articulated in Europe, not in Sri Lanka. Any Sri Lankan knows the truth of this. And it applies to an army of public servants or of policemen just as well. Were the authorities so totally unaware?

According to some newspaper reports the task of keeping the troops (public servants and policemen) supplied had been decentralised among the grama sevakas of the Province. But, apparently, most of them had abandoned post in fear of the T-56.

– Lanka Guardian 15.6.88

TAMIL RESILIENCE

An important meeting was held last week at Vaddukoddai, the home town of the Secretary General of the TULF, Mr Amirthalingam.

Though this meeting was connected with the Church of South India, most of the speeches highlighted the present political and military actions of the North and East of Sri Lanka.

This was a function organised to receive three dignitaries who arrived from South India in Jaffna last week.

The IPKF's actions, other activities and excesses were brought to focus by four speakers and some other participants.

An important question posed before the South Indian dignitaries was, 'Is India for a political solution or a military solution to the Sri Lanka Tamils Problem?'

The Bishop for the church of South India Rev. Fr. Ambalavanar posed the question before the assembly.

'Our guest nation, India, since July 1983 told the Sri Lankan Government, there can never be a military solution to this problem.

The way lies clearly in a political solution. But within a mere eight weeks of their arrival in this country, they lost their patience and their preaching and started fighting. What is the meaning of this? is the first question raised by Bishop Ambalavanar.

His second question was; Is India really interested in Sri Lanka's peace or have they any other interest?

Lastly he told the South Indian guests that the IPKF soldiers did not know what they were doing! And why they were here!

At their function the Archbishop of Jaffna Rev. Fr. B. Deogupillai briefly and lucidly explained the Tamils' problems since 1958.

At one point the Archbishop said that 'The general Tamil public will not say this. But I say that they are all with the militants. Foreign countries do not know what's going on here. We are the abandoned people.'

A noteworthy speech was by the Jaffna Municipal Commissioner Mr C.V.K. Sivagnanam.

'The Indian Govt. claims that had they not intervened soon after the Vadamarachchi Operation Liberation, the entire Jaffna peninsula would have been annihilated. I am not prepared to accept it.

'I would rather say, Vadamarachchi Operation Liberation did not destroy the entirety of the Vadamarachchi, and did not kill the entire population of the area.

'So, it follows even if there had been a repetition of the Sri Lankan forces operation over the rest of the peninsula, these areas too would not have been totally destroyed nor would the entire population have been killed.'

Mr. Sivagnanam went on to remark 'One character of the Tamil race is resilience. They may suffer terribly; but undaunted they should come back for more.'

– Letter from Jaffna, The Sunday Times, 26.6.88

GANG WAR?

'Politics in the Northern and Eastern Provinces now resembles nothing more than a gang war. What the whole thing is about is space, political space. No one is any more worried about fancy notions like principles or the will of the people. The Tigers never were and their current battle with India, both militarily and politically, is for the sole purpose of getting total control of the Tamil areas. EROS did the intelligent thing of trying to slipstream behind the Tigers and has so far survived unscathed to fight another day. Soon after the accord, given the nod by India. PLOT tried to decimate the LTTE and ended being virtually decimated themselves. Its conflict with EPRLF and TELO had only the purpose; it wanted to be undisputed overlords of Vavuniya. The EPRLF was the last to fall. After the Indians chased the Tigers from Batticaloa, they took over there, killing any and every Tiger cadre and supporter they could find. What the TULF is hoping for is that the activities of the IPKF will give them some space, too.'

– Qadri Ismail, The Sunday Times, (Colombo) 26.6.88

MORE USEFUL ALIVE THAN DEAD

'Even ten corpse-strewn months after the Indian Peace-Keeping Force cannonballed into the death traps laid by the Tigers in the north of Sri Lanka, the ruthless mastermind of Tamil militant resistance, Veluppillai Prabhakaran, remains an extremely elusive prey. Aparently. Top officers of the IPKF have sporadically shouted over the clatter of gunfire their determination to capture him dead or alive, and they have occasionally been on the verge of doing just that. But an untrumpeted factor has always jammed their gun: Parbhakaran is no cannon fodder; he is not expendable.

IPKF has twice come dangerously close to the lair of the Tiger chief and on both occasions the 34-year-old leader, on whom the immediate destiny of Sri Lankan Tamils depends, vanished like an accomplished escape artist into thick forests, if not into thin air. The first time he wriggled out of the IPKF dragnet was in October last year when the Indian forces surprised him at a well-fortified Tiger training camp at Navatkully in Jaffna. Later, in the last week of February, the IPKF received 'pin-pointed information about Prabhakaran's jungle hideout in the north-eastern part of Mullaitivu district. Again he gave them the slip at the cost of the life of 12 of his guerrillas who gave covering fire as he retreated deep into the jungle . . .

The latest effort to corner Prabhakaran in his den in the forests of Alampil, south of Mullaitivu, began on May 23. But even two weeks later there was no sign of the 'Indian forces making any headway. And as usual there have been contradictions in reports about the operation. External affairs ministry officials insisted that it was a well-planned move on the basis of precise intelligence tip-off, while senior army officers said the operation was started after the soldiers stumbled upon some fortifications by LTTE. This speaks volumes about coordination in a supposedly important operation.

The fact is that Prabhakaran alive is more useful for the rulers in Delhi than Prabhakaran dead. Prabhakaran is the most effective bargaining chip that Delhi has in the intricate battle of wits with the Sri Lankan government. If he is done away with, the Indian forces may not have adequate reasons to prolong their stay on the island. And India certainly has stakes in keeping the forces there.'

– 'The Week', June 19-25, 1988

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NEWS IN BRIEF

SITUATION REPORT – N & E SRI LANKA

●EROS is continuing with its campaign of blocking roads in support of its demands for a ceasefire and talks between India and the LTTE. Roads were blocked at Vadamaradchi 16th June, Periyanilavanai near Kalmunai on 17th, Mutur 18th, Trincomalee 22nd, Eravur 23rd and Pothuvil 24th.

●All government offices, and commercial banks at Mannar closed from 15th June for 15 davs on orders of LTTE.

●One IPKF soldier killed and another wounded at Murikandy on 16/6 as a result of a landmine blast.

●TELO office at Vavuniya blasted on 17/6 by a rival Tamil group.

●On 18/6, at Vavuniya, there was a protest march by parents and spouses of nearly 200 detenus held without charge by the IPKF. Protest march was organised by Citizens' Committee Vavuniya and led by the President Dr.Pararajasingham and other officials. There were nearly 5000 persons including school children. At the first check point the marchers were stopped by the IPKF and armed youths believed to be TELO and EPRLF cadres. Dr.P ararajasingham had been threatened by the same groups. He has since relinquished office and left Vavuniya.

●Kathankudi 21.6.88 – Kalideen arrested and released earlier by IPKF in connection with the killing of Mr.Ahamed Lebbe ex Chairman T.C. and respected member of area was shot dead. IPKF at Kathankudi is attacked with grenades. IPKF counter attack and kill two militants and arrest about 20 others. Shops and other buildings damaged.

●On 21.6.88 about 25 members of 'Three Star' group cordon Iruthayapuram area in Batticaloa. Residents panic. Nesan of the LTTE trying to escape on bicycle was shot dead.

●Two youths Kandiah Nesan and Pathinathar Babu taken off passenger bus from Colombo to Jaffna and killed by a group which alleged that the victims were PLOTE members.

●Nagulan LTTE leader was killed in cordon and search operation. Hartal observed to commemorate him in his area – Chavakachcheri, Kodikamam and Pallai on 23.6.88.

●Hartal in Atchuvely, Avarangal and Puttur on 23.6.88 to commemorate S.Rasavarajeeva LTTE leader of the area killed during first week of April.

●On 23.6.88 Arasan and Eeswaran of the LTTE were killed at Mamangam near Batticaloa by the EPRLF.

●At Trincomalee on 27th June, two P.C.s and three Sinhala civilians injured in grenade attack. In a second grenade attack, one sub-inspector and two P.C.s injured.

●600 mothers march and hand over petition to IPKF. Demands – to dislodge colonists from Welioya former Manalaaru; to order a cease fire and enter into talks with LTTE.

●On 25.6.88 Vakisayah detenu shot dead by IPKF allegedly trying to escape.

●Refugees from Tamil Nadu arrived in Sri Lanka – 565 at Kankesanthurai on 18th June, and 508 at Talaimannar on 25th June.

●Two leading Tamils of Akkaraipattu, P.Kanapathipillai(59) and Kariyan Vadivel(60) kidnapped on 21.6.88, whereabouts still not known.

●A teenaged student and a girl from Karaitivu kidnapped and killed allegedly by a Tamil group.

●A Muslim youth, Mohamed Nazeer(26) of Akkaraipattu was stabbed to death by another Muslim of the 'Three Stars' group.

●Drop-outs from the various groups other than the LTTE are roaming the Batticaloa District robbing people, especially at Chenkalady, Kalmunai, Pandiruppu and Akkaraipattu.

●EPRLF, TELO, and PLOTE have jointly opened an office at Tirukovil near the IPKF Camp.

MADRAS: Sivadasan, a Sri Lankan Tamil militant drop-out, is believed to be among those responsible for the series of bomb blasts in Tamil Nadu, on the eve of the visits by the Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. Police claim that he leads a movement called THAMIL MAKKAL PADUKKAPPU PERAVAI consisting of other militant group drop-outs, and that he had exposure to training and making of explosives. Police who were on his trail believe that since then he had returned to the island.

MADRAS: The Tamil Eelam Liberation Organisation (TELO) has expelled its former leader in India, A. Selvam for holding secret talks with the Sri Lankan Minister of National Security, Lalith Athulathmudali. TELO convener in India Dr. G.S. Kanda in a statement in Madras says that Selvam was also asked by the organisations's executive committee to return the organisation's funds allegedly taken away by him.

COLOMBO: L.W. Panditha, a Politbureau member of the Ceylon Communist Party and a veteran Trade Union leader was stabbed to death near his house on June 26. The assailants were not immediately identified.

JAFFNA: The bodies of four young men who had been shot through the head and their hands tied behind their backs were found at Urumpirai, eight kms north of Jaffna town. The identity of the victims or of those responsible for the killings were not known immediately.

MADRAS: Following a complaint by a Sri Lankan, Mrs K. Bhuvaneswari, that Duplin Travels of Aminjikarai had cheated her of Rs. 38,000 by promising her daughter and grand-daughter passage and visa to West Germany, a partner of the travel firm Mrs Rajam Clement (36) was arrested by the City Crime branch police.

COLOMBO: Rumours that the Colombo water supply was being poisoned began spreading around mid-June, as government analysts began checking on some packets of a black powder found near the Ambatale water pump. The packets were marked POISON and were stated to have been accidentally dropped in the area by a passing vehicle, but the Police were taking no chances. Ambatale takes water from the Kelani river for distribution to a section of Colombo.

MADRAS: The Tamizhaga Munnetra Munnani, started by film star Sivaji Ganeshan organised a one-day fast in different parts of Tamil Nadu on June 15, protesting against the IPKF operations in North-East Sri Lanka and demanding immediate cease-fire.

LONDON: A Sri Lankan Sinhalese who has spent more than 17 months in the sanctuary of an English church, and claims he could face death if sent home, lost an appeal against deportation on June 17. The Court of Appeal refused to overturn a Home Office deportation order on Viraj Mendis who has been living in a church in the northern city of Manchester since December 1986.

COLOMBO: A PLOTE member and a driver were killed when their car was ambushed and fired upon by TELO men in a jungle in Vavuniya district, according to Sri Lankan security sources in Colombo. Three other PLOTE members were wounded in the incident. Earlier, the TELO office in Vavuniya town was bombed by unidentified man, the sources said. The bomb attack which partially destroyed the office building, was believed to be the work of a rival militant group. The office was set up after TELO members were granted amnesty following surrender of their weapons under the Indo-Sri Lanka accord.

COLOMBO: A Sinhalese schoolboy, N.Jayewardene, a student of Vijitha Maha Vidyalaya, Dickwella, in the Matara district was killed and three fellow students injured on June 20, when persons in uniform travelling in a State bus opened fire when students stoned the bus. It was not known whether the men in uniform were Air Force or army personnel.

COLOMBO: According to a Sri Lanka Defence Ministry report, a confirmed LTTE leader, Vijaya Raja was apprehended by the IPKF in Toppur in the Trincomalee district with a large amount of foreign currencies, including 19,000 francs, $925 and Rs. 33,150 collected as taxes.

COLOMBO: During an emergency de-

(Contd. on page 20)

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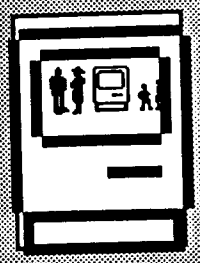

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bate in Parliament, Dinesh Gunewardene of the Mahajana Eksath Peramuna (MEP) charged that there were reports that 700 IPKF personnel had returned to Trincomalee from where the IPKF withdrew an unspecified number of their men and military hardware as a first phase of their troop withdrawal from the island on June 7.

NEW DELHI: India is to set up 50 small scale industrial projects on turnkey basis valued at Rs. 6 crore in Sri Lanka. Agreement to this effect was by J.S.Juneja, Chairman, National Small Industries Corporation Limited, and Bandula S de Silva, Additional Secretary, Rural Industrial Development, Sri Lanka recently. The projects cover several major industrial groups like plastics, automobile components, rubber, castings etc.

MADRAS: AIADMK faction leader Janaki Ramachandran left for the United States on June 30 for a medical check-up at Brooklyn Downstate Medical Centre, where she underwent a coronary by-pass surgery last year.

COLOMBO: A group of professionals have formed a National Amity Movement with the object of ending discrimination in society, promoting understanding and trust among the different communities and protecting fundamental and civil rights. Dr Nath Amarakone, one of the pioneer members of the organisation and a former Secretary, Ministry of Housing and Construction, said they wanted to create a movement outside the government and that they as professionals were 'driven to it' because 'what is going on around us is dividing the country into pockets' where the rule of the gun prevailed.

TELLIPALAI: It is very likely that the Cancer Centre at Tellipalai Base hospital will commence functioning early next year, according to Superintendent of Health Services, Jaffna, M.Kanagasabai. He said parts for the proper operation of the machinery have to come all the way from Canada. Several voluntary organisations have offered to meet the expense.

POINT PEDRO: Mr J.F.Jeyarajah, a retired post master of Karaveddi has complained to the chief of the Nelliady IPKF that three men dressed in IPKF uniforms had entered his house and removed a cassette tape recorder radio and his wife's Thalikody valued at Rs. 30,000. Mr Jeyarajah had alleged that the men ordered him to switch off the lights, since the time was 9.30 p.m. and had asked him and his wife to stay out of the house. They had also threatened to kill them if they made any complaint.

COLOMBO: An official survey revealed that there had been 687,599 cases of malaria in the country during 1987, showing an increase by over 275,000 as compared with 1986. Director, Anti-Malaria Campaign Dr Lionel Samarasinghe said the increase could be attributed to the situation caused by terrorist violence which hampered all anti-malaria operations.

MANNAR: A Sri Lankan navy patrol arrested 11 persons off the coast of Mannar on 10th June, according to Joint Operations Command sources. The arrested men comprised 6 Indian Tamils, 4 Sri Lankan Tamils and one Sinhalese.

Contd. from page 7

Government order, what would be the impact of this order in the minds of Sri Lankan Tamils specially in those of the younger generation? No other act of the Government of India could have helped more to alienate the Sri Lankan Tamils as this order, from their traditional love, respect and admiration for India.

It is universally recognised that education must be universal and must be made available to all those who seek it. This order has the effect of totally denying eduational opportunities in the future for Sri Lankan Tamils. It is offensive to the very concept of the fundamental right of education to all persons. It will not be out of place here to cite Article 26 of universal declaration of Human Rights bearing in mind that India is an ardent champion of Human Rights in the world fora.

ARTICLE 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

Any person with a knowledge of educational problems will understand that it is not easy for a large number of students to switch over from one system of education to another and from one medium to another. The G.O. also frustrates and despairs those students who are hoping that they will continue their professional education after completing their XII standard. The Government order now leaves them with no choice, but to go scouting around the world to find out whether they will be accepted by any University or a professional college. This is one of the most cruel blows to the ambitions of the younger generation who had come to India with so much of hope, confidence and faith. Education is a continuum and does not terminate from academic year to academic year as the framers of G.O. 597 seem to think.

We therefore appeal not merely to the Government of India which seems to pay scant respect for the feelings of Sri Lankan Tamils in India but to all learned and responsible Indians to consider the impact of this Government order and bring to bear their influence on the Government of India to restore the freedom of pursuit of education in India to that 'outcast' community, as it now seems, the Sri Lankan Tamils.

R.R.SIVALINGAM

President
Indo-Sri Lankans Association
132A, Vanniar Street,
Choolaimedu, Madras-600094
May 17, 1988

THE WELIOYA SCHEME: BLURRING THE BOUNDARIES BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE

The Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) has submitted a memorandum to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi drawing attention to the Lankan government's continuing policy of state-aided Sinhalese colonisation of the North and East. TULF has forwarded a list of Tamil areas where they allege Sinhalese will be resettled under special legislation and hurriedly-created statutory bodies.

The memorandum cites the example of the Welioya Colonisation Scheme in Mullaitivu District where 25,000 Sinhalese were resettled recently. The area – traditionally Tamil speaking – appears on Government Survey Department maps as 'Manal-Aaru' (Tamil: sandy river). Tamil refugee organisations say large numbers of Tamils were forcibly removed from the area by the Sri Lankan army in 1984. Subsequent IPKF operations have further depopulated the surrounding villages.

People removed from settlements such as Kokkuthoduval and Karunalukerni, remain in makeshift refugee camps some three years later without prospects or adequate provisions.

Some 10,000 Tamils are said to have been dislocated by Lankan army or IPKF operations in Mullaitivu since 1984. Many recently removed were told not to return to their homes without IPKF permission.

Mullaitivu Citizens Committee believe the aim is to erect a Sinhalese barrier between the Northern and Eastern Provinces secretly undermining the provinsions of the July Peace Accord and have made direct representations to the Indian High Command questioning the IPKF's role in such a programme.

As a fresh wave of Tamil refugees fleeing from the IPKF fire-storm in Mullaitivu streamed into Vavuniya town at the end of June, in the eyes of local observers they seemed already destined to join the ranks of the long-term displaced.

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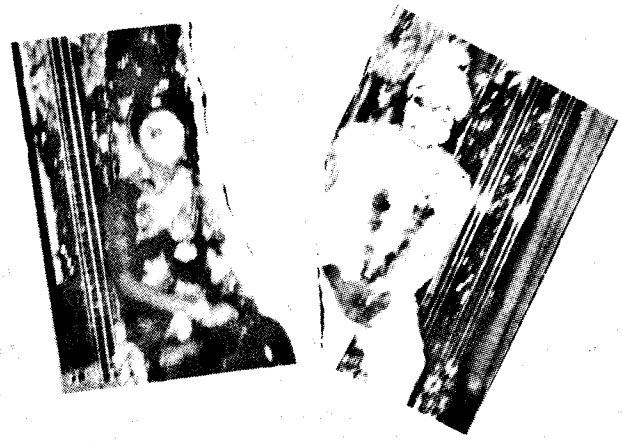

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Seeking suitable partner for talented youngest brother, Australian citizen of Srilankan Tamil origin, age 37, UK qualified mechanical engineer. Write with horoscope and photo to Box M 235, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek professionally qualified partner for working graduate daughter aged 29. Reply to M 236, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek preferably professionally qualified partner for their "systems accountant" son, 30 years, permanent resident Australia. Send details with horoscope to Box M 237, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek qualified partner for son, 31 years, professional engineer, British citizen, London employed. Please send chart with full particulars and photo to Box M 238, c/o Tamil Times.

Hindu Tamil parents working abroad seek partners preferably among those settled in UK, Australia or Canada for their daughter 29 years, double graduate, ICMA partly qualified and two sons, medical doctors, 27 and 26 years old. Employment assured for groom if qualified accountant. Please write with horoscope and full details to M 239, c/o Tamil Times.

Jaffna Hindu parents seek professionally qualified bride for their son 29 years UK qualified computer professional employed in New Zealand, PR to be granted shortly. Details to M 240 c/o Tamil Times.

OBITUARY

J.S Sathiyanathan — In treasured memory of our dear Dad who passed away on 4th May in Sri Lanka.

Thank you for the memories
We carry in our hearts
Thank you for the things you did
Before we had to part
Thank you for the happiness
With you we always had
But most of all we thank you
For being the wonderful Dad
We are proud to have had.

Fondly remembered by your loving wife and daughters Sathiyasounthary Balarajah (Canada), Sathiya Devi Perera (Sri Lanka), Sathiyavathany Thangiah (UK), Subathra Sivothayan (UK) and son M.J. Sathiyanathan (UK) and their families. Memorial Service will be held at Putney Methodist Church, London SW15 on 6.8.88 at 6pm.

WEDDING BELLS

We congratulate the following couples on their recent marriage.

Shantaraj (son of Dr.& Mrs T.D. Sivalingam, 78 Somervell Road, South Harrow, Middx, UK) and **Mangaleswary** (daughter of Mr.& Mrs P. Vettivetpillai, 17 Northdown Road, Welling, Kent, UK) on 10 July at Lola Jones Hall, London SW17

Gengatharan (son of Mr.& Mrs E. Thillainayagam; Gayathri; Chunnakam, Sri Lanka) and **Jamunarani** (daughter of Mr & Mrs S. Narashiman, 40 Burges Road, London E6) on 24th July 88 at London Sri Murugan Temple, London E12 6AF.

The Northern Tamil Association, UK presented Ambika Thamotheram in a programme of carnatic, devotional and light music at Longsight Community Hall, Manchester on 9.7.88. Ambika is a well known exponent of carnatic music and has performed in several countries. She was invited to sing at the 6th International Tamil Conference held in Malaysia in November last year and represented her country as a delegate at the World Hindu Conference held in Nepal in March 88' where she sang Tamil and Nepalese songs.

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P. SUSHEELA

K.J. YESUDASS

SUJATHA

(Exclusively Tamil Songs only)

On Saturday 6th August 1988, 7.00pm
At Wimbledon Theatre
The Broadway, Wimbledon, London SW19

(Nearest Tube: Wimbledon)

Tickets: £15/- & £10/-
Bookings: Box Office - 01-540 0362

For Further Details

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